Catalogue no. 75-006-X, no. 2015001
ISSN 2291-0859

Insights on Canadian Society

Diversity of grandparents living with their grandchildren

by Anne Milan, Nadine Laflamme and Irene Wong

Release date: April 14, 2015

Statistics Canada Statistique Canada

Canada

How to obtain more information

For information about this product or the wide range of services and data available from Statistics Canada, visit our website, www.statcan.gc.ca.

You can also contact us by

email at infostats@statcan.gc.ca

telephone, from Monday to Friday, 8:30 a.m. to 4:30 p.m., at the following toll-free numbers:

- Statistical Information Service 1-800-263-1136
- National telecommunications device for the hearing impaired 1-800-363-7629
- Fax line 1-877-287-4369

Depository Services Program

- Inquiries line 1-800-635-7943
- Fax line 1-800-565-7757

Standards of service to the public

Statistics Canada is committed to serving its clients in a prompt, reliable and courteous manner. To this end, Statistics Canada has developed standards of service that its employees observe. To obtain a copy of these service standards, please contact Statistics Canada toll-free at 1-800-263-1136. The service standards are also published on www.statcan.gc.ca under "About us" > "The agency" > "Providing services to Canadians."

Note of appreciation

Canada owes the success of its statistical system to a long-standing partnership between Statistics Canada, the citizens of Canada, its businesses, governments and other institutions. Accurate and timely statistical information could not be produced without their continued co-operation and goodwill.

Standard table symbols

The following symbols are used in Statistics Canada publications:

. not available for any reference period
.. not available for a specific reference period
... not applicable
0 true zero or a value rounded to zero
0^s value rounded to 0 (zero) where there is a meaningful distinction between true zero and the value that was rounded
^{p} preliminary
^{r} revised
x suppressed to meet the confidentiality requirements of the *Statistics Act*
^{E} use with caution
F too unreliable to be published
* significantly different from reference category ($p < 0.05$)

Published by authority of the Minister responsible for Statistics Canada

© Minister of Industry, 2015

All rights reserved. Use of this publication is governed by the Statistics Canada Open Licence Agreement.

An HTML version **is also available.**

Cette publication est aussi disponible en français.

Diversity of grandparents living with their grandchildren

by Anne Milan, Nadine Laflamme and Irene Wong

Overview of the study

Even though most grandparents live in separate households from their adult children and grandchildren, sometimes the grandparent and grandchild generations live together. This article provides information on the number of grandparents who are in this particular situation, along with their living arrangements and their ethnocultural and sociodemographic characteristics.

- In 2011, there were about 7 million grandparents aged 45 and over in private households, representing 57% of the population in this age group. Grandparents had 4.2 grandchildren on average.
- In 2011, close to 600,000 grandparents aged 45 and over lived with their grandchildren, accounting for 8% of all grandparents and for 4% of the overall population in this age group.
- Most grandparents who lived with their grandchildren also lived with at least one middle-generation person (88%). The rest (12%) were in 'skip-generation' households, that is, with no middle generation present.
- Persons aged 45 and over who reported an Aboriginal identity and reported a Traditional Aboriginal Spirituality had larger proportions of grandparents living with their grandchildren. As well, higher proportions were seen among Sikh (Punjabi-speaking in most cases) and Hindu populations.
- Of all grandparents living with their grandchildren in 2011, 62% were married or in a common-law union. Of those not in couples, 25% of co-residing grandparents were widowed and an additional 14% were divorced, separated or had never been married.

Introduction

The Canadian population is not only aging, it is also experiencing increasing variety in living arrangements and family structure. Although Canadians are having children at older ages, which can lengthen the span between generations, relatively high life expectancy means that relationships between generations can potentially last for many years. While the majority of grandparents maintain a separate residence from both their adult children and grandchildren, sometimes co-residence occurs for the grandparent and grandchild generations. The propensity to share a home with one or more grandchildren may be influenced by many factors, including the ethnocultural, sociodemographic and economic characteristics of the population.

Based on the population aged 45 and over living in private households, this study initially provides an overview of all grandparents in Canada using the 2011 General Social Survey (GSS). While grandparents overall have certain ethnocultural, sociodemographic and economic characteristics, the profile of the particular grandparents who lived with one or more of their grandchildren can be quite different.

To better understand the profile of grandparents living with grandchildren, the 2011 National Household Survey (NHS) is used to examine the prevalence of being a co-residing grandparent according to selected diversity characteristics, such as Aboriginal identity, immigrant status, visible minority group status, language,

and religion. Among grandparents in shared homes, the composition of the middle generation (i.e., whether grandparents are living in a multigenerational household or in a skip-generation household) is examined, as well as their contribution to household payments.

As part of the planning process for an aging population, understanding living arrangements involves examining how they may differ for various population groups. With increasing ethnocultural diversity, particular living arrangements—such as multigenerational shared residence—may be more commonly found among certain groups. Understanding the living arrangements of such families is important, since they could have implications for the provision of care and support, financial resources and housing needs for these different populations.

Furthermore, co-residence is likely to affect each generation in the home. Exchanges of support—emotional, practical, financial, or a combination of these factors—may flow between generations to various degrees. Grandparents sharing a home with grandchildren may provide an important resource for one or both generations—as well as for the middle generation, if present. In circumstances when parents are not in the home, grandparents may serve as a crucial source of support for dependent grandchildren. Finally, higher life expectancy, as well as growing ethnocultural diversity, could increase the potential for grandparent and grandchild generations to co-reside in the future.

Overview of grandparents in Canada

According to the 2011 General Social Survey, about 7 million people aged 45 and over in private households, or 57% of this population, were grandparents—up from 50% in 2001, likely reflecting an overall older population compared with a decade earlier.[1]

Regardless of their living arrangements, more women were grandmothers (61%) in 2011 than men who were grandfathers (52%). Women are typically younger than their spouse or partner, have their children at a younger age, and have a higher life expectancy, all of which contribute to women becoming grandparents at a younger age and remaining in this role for a longer time period than men.

The propensity to be a grandparent increases with age. It was relatively uncommon to be a grandparent at a young age—less than one-quarter of adults aged 45 to 54 in 2011—but by age 55 to 64, a majority of individuals were grandparents (60%). Among those aged 65 to 74 in 2011, 87% were grandparents, increasing to 94% among those aged 75 and over. These proportions, however, do not capture either the duration or timing of grandparenthood and many of these older seniors may have become grandparents years earlier.

Most grandparents have several grandchildren. Specifically, in 2011, 17% of grandparents had one grandchild, 22% had two grandchildren, 27% had three or four grandchildren, and over one-third (34%) had five grandchildren or more. On average, in 2011, grandparents had 4.2 grandchildren down from 4.8 grandchildren in 2001. While there could be a higher proportion of grandparents in the coming decades due to population aging, grandparents may each have fewer grandchildren than they do now if the current trend continues.

The rest of the article provides a comprehensive profile of grandparents who co-reside with their grandchildren. It shows that some ethnocultural and sociodemographic characteristics are associated with a higher probability of living with grandchildren in a shared home.

Close to 600,000 grandparents in shared homes with grandchildren

While most grandparents and their grandchildren reside in separate homes, some do live together.[2] According to the 2011 NHS, 584,350 grandparents aged 45 and over, or 4% of the overall population in this age group, lived with their grandchildren. Co-residing grandparents represented about 8% of all grandparents in Canada (see *Data sources, methods and definitions*). There could be many reasons why grandparents share a home with their grandchildren such as cultural preference, financial necessity[3] or health and other possibilities.

The majority of grandparents in a shared home with their grandchildren—511,700 or 88% in 2011—also lived with one or more persons from the middle generation (Table 1). Most commonly, co-residing grandparents lived with a middle generation comprised of a couple (53% of grandparents in shared homes), followed by a lone parent (32%). Lone parents may need more support than parents in couple families, and living in a multigenerational household with their own parents may be a way for them to pool resources associated with finances and caring for their own children. A lower proportion of

Table 1
Distribution of grandparents aged 45 and over in shared homes with grandchildren, median age, and proportion with some financial responsibility in the household, 2011

	Distribution		Median age	Some financial responsibility
	number	percentage	years	percentage
Total grandparents in shared homes	**584,350**	**100.0**	**66.2**	**50.3**
In a multigenerational household with	511,685	87.6	66.2	46.1
Couple	308,305	52.8	68.7	27.6
Lone parent	188,660	32.3	62.2	74.7
Other	14,710	2.5	60.6	66.1
In a skip-generation household	72,665	12.4	66.0	80.3

Source: Statistics Canada, National Household Survey, 2011.

co-residing grandparents (less than 3%) lived with a middle generation comprised of either both a couple and a lone parent or a more complex combination.

The remaining 72,700 grandparents aged 45 and over in a shared home were in a skip-generation household in 2011—that is, with no middle generation present, accounting for 12% of this population. Parents may be absent for a variety of reasons and, in such families, grandparents may assume a parental role, providing a valuable emotional and/or financial resource for their grandchildren. (For a profile of grandchildren living with their grandparents, see *Grandchildren living with grandparents*).

In fact, most grandparents in either skip-generation households (80%) or multigenerational households with a lone-parent middle generation (75%) had at least some responsibility for household payments.[4] In contrast, when the middle generation was a couple, a significantly smaller share of grandparents (28%) contributed financially to household payments. In the latter case, however, these grandparents tended to be older (with a median age of nearly 69 years, compared with 66 years among those in a skip-generation household and 62 years among those living with a lone parent).

Proportion of co-residing grandparents high in Nunavut, especially for Inuit

With the NHS, it is possible to identify grandparents living with grandchildren for a wide range of specific populations, but it is not possible to identify the population of grandparents as a whole. While co-residing grandparents cannot be expressed as a proportion of grandparents, they can be expressed as a proportion of the overall population aged 45 and above.

The proportion of individuals living with at least one grandchild varied across the country, and was highest in Nunavut, at nearly 1 in 4 individuals (24%) aged 45 and over in 2011 compared with 4% nationally (Table 2). The proportion of the population aged 45 or over who were grandparents in shared homes was also comparatively higher in the Northwest Territories (8%).

In the North, the larger share of grandparents living with their grandchildren may be related to the issue of crowded housing within some communities.[5] Nunavut also had the highest proportion of large households in Canada in 2011, as 32% of all households were comprised of 5 or more people (compared with 8% nationally). Among households including a co-residing grandparent in Nunavut, 71% were comprised of at least 5 people (compared with 62% nationally).

In contrast, some provinces had lower proportions of co-residing grandparents than the national average, especially Quebec (2%). In fact, 25% of the total population aged 45 and over lived in Quebec, but 12% of all co-residing grandparents in this age group lived in this province.

The population who reported an Aboriginal identity[6]—which is more prevalent in certain regions of the country—was also proportionally more likely to live with grandchildren (11% in 2011). In particular, over one-fifth (22%) of the population aged 45 or older who self-identified as Inuit was a co-residing grandparent, which increased to nearly one-third (33%) for Inuit living in Nunavut.[7] The proportion was also relatively high in 2011 for those who self-identified as First Nations[8] (14%). First Nations people living on-reserve in 2011 were also much more likely to be co-residing grandparents (27%) than those living off-reserve (8%). In contrast, the proportion of those

Table 2
Proportion of the population aged 45 and over in private households who were grandparents in shared homes with grandchildren, 2011

	Percentage
Total co-residing grandparents	4.1
Sex	
Men	3.2
Women	4.9
Age group	
45 to 49	1.2
50 to 54	2.2
55 to 59	3.4
60 to 64	5.0
65 to 69	6.2
70 to 74	7.2
75 to 79	7.4
80 and over	7.4
Marital status	
In a couple	3.6
Legally married (and not separated)	3.9
Common law	1.5
Not in a couple	5.2
Never legally married	1.2
Divorced or separated	3.7
Widowed	10.9
Province/territory	
Newfoundland and Labrador	4.1
Prince Edward Island	3.2
Nova Scotia	3.3
New Brunswick	3.3
Quebec	2.0
Ontario	5.2
Manitoba	4.1
Saskatchewan	3.5
Alberta	4.1
British Columbia	5.4
Yukon	3.5
Northwest Territories	8.3
Nunavut	24.4
Aboriginal identity	
Aboriginal identity	10.7
First Nations[1]	14.4
Métis[1]	5.0
Inuit[1]	22.3
Other Aboriginal identity[2]	3.6
Non-Aboriginal identity	3.9
Immigrant status	
Non-immigrants	2.5
Immigrants	8.4
Period of immigration	
between 2006 and 2011	20.5
before 2006	7.7
Age at immigration	
less than 45	4.3
45 to 54	18.3
55 to 64	43.1
65 and over	53.1
Non-permanent residents	8.7

who self-identified as Métis (5%) was closer to those who reported no Aboriginal identity (4%).

Several unique family-related characteristics could explain the higher proportion of co-residing grandparents within the Aboriginal population, including Aboriginal custom adoption, which is the "selection of individuals to adopt a child, by birth parents (or their elders), based on historical Aboriginal adoption practices".[9] In addition, Aboriginal identity populations, particularly Inuit, have higher fertility levels than the rest of the population[10]—meaning that the Aboriginal population may be more likely to be grandparents. As previously noted, northern communities—many of which are home to a proportionally large Aboriginal population—may also lack sufficient housing.

Among those who reported an Aboriginal identity and were co-residing grandparents in 2011, about one-half (49%) shared a household with middle-generation lone parents and 17% shared a household with middle-generation couples (Chart 1). The opposite was found among the non-Aboriginal population, for whom it was more common for co-residing grandparents to live with a couple (56%) than a lone-parent (31%) middle generation. Although the counts are low, Inuit co-residing grandparents were significantly more likely to live with a complex middle generation (11%, compared with just below 3% nationally), reflecting the interplay of various cultural and economic factors for this population, including the importance of extended family.

A larger share of the Aboriginal population was comprised of grandparents in a skip-generation home (27%) than the non-Aboriginal population (11%), although this was more predominant for Métis and First Nations (28% each) populations than Inuit (18%).

The distinctive nature of Aboriginal families can also be seen in who bears the financial responsibility for the household. While one-half (50%) of co-residing grandparents had some financial responsibility for the household in 2011, it was closer to three-quarters (73%) among those with an Aboriginal identity. Even when the middle generation was comprised of a couple, 55% of grandparents with an Aboriginal identity had some financial responsibility—ranging from 49% among Métis grandparents to 57% among First Nations people—compared with 27% for the non-Aboriginal population.

One-fifth of recent immigrants aged 45 and over living with grandchildren

For some populations, such as immigrants[11], living with adult children or relatives can be a financial coping strategy.[12] Immigrants accounted for 26% of the overall population aged 45 and over in 2011, and for more than one-half of co-residing grandparents (54%). Parents or grandparents arriving from abroad—and sponsored in the Family Reunification Program—are required by the federal government to be financially supported by their sponsors for the first 10 years of residence during which time they are not eligible for government income assistance.[13] Consequently,

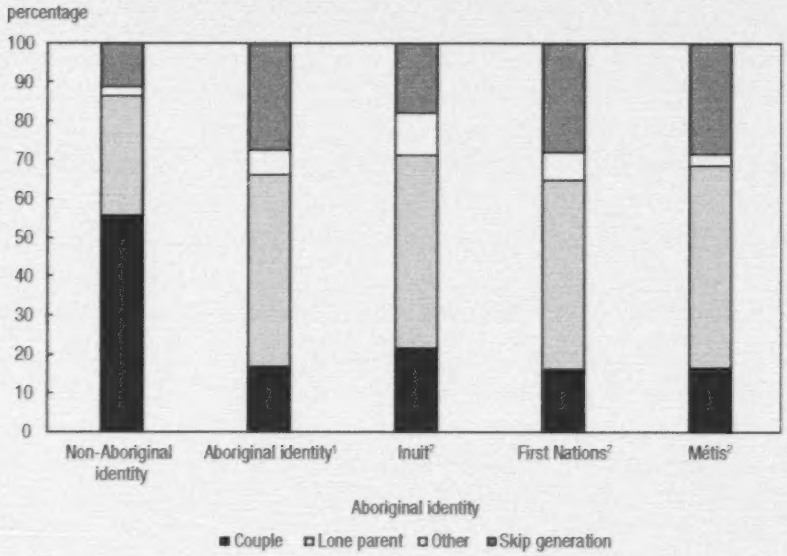
Table 2 (continued)
Proportion of the population aged 45 and over in private households who were grandparents in shared homes with grandchildren, 2011

	Percentage
Language spoken most often at home	
Official	2.7
English	3.2
French	1.5
English and French	2.7
Official and non-official	7.8
Non-official	13.9
Italian	5.2
Portuguese	10.4
German	3.4
Spanish	11.0
Mandarin	13.8
Cantonese	12.3
Chinese, n.o.s.[3]	12.9
Panjabi (Punjabi)	44.0
Tagalog (Pilipino, Filipino)	14.8
Arabic	9.8
Other	12.2
Religion	
Buddhist	11.6
Christian	3.3
Hindu	17.7
Jewish	1.6
Muslim	10.5
Sikh	38.6
Traditional Aboriginal Spirituality	20.0
Other religions	3.5
No religious affiliation	4.0
Visible minority status	
Visible minority	12.5
South Asian	21.6
Chinese	10.3
Black	8.4
Filipino	12.5
Latin American	9.7
Arab	6.5
Southeast Asian	11.3
West Asian	7.2
Korean	4.6
Japanese	2.8
Visible minority, n.i.e.[4]	10.5
Multiple visible minorities	10.4
Not a visible minority	2.8
Some financial responsibility	
Yes	2.6
No	10.8

1. Single identity.
2. Includes Aboriginal identity 'not included elsewhere.' (n.i.e.) and multiple Aboriginal identities.
3. Chinese (n.o.s.) refers to persons who reported "Chinese" without further specifying in their response to the question on language spoken most often at home.
4. The abbreviation 'n.i.e.' means 'not included elsewhere.' Includes respondents who reported a write-in response such as "Guyanese", "West Indian", "Tibetan", "Polynesian", "Pacific Islander", etc.

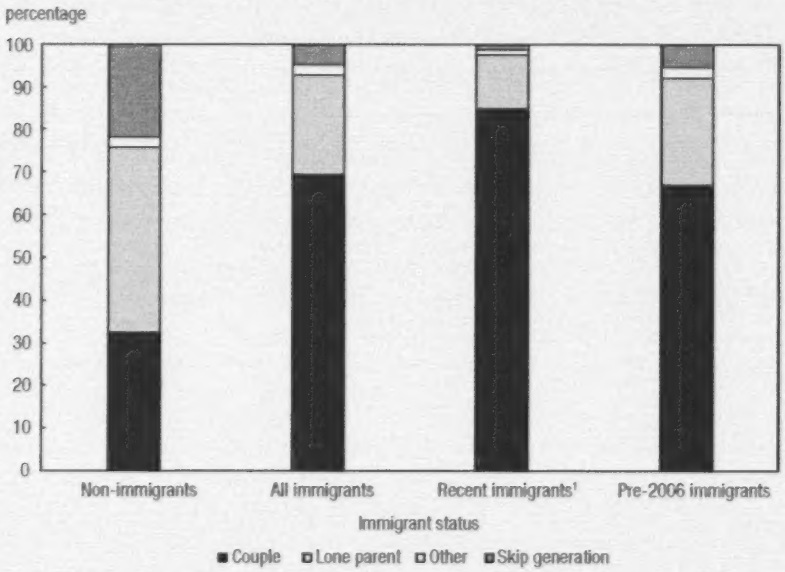
Source: Statistics Canada, National Household Survey, 2011.

Chart 1
Distribution of grandparents aged 45 and over in shared homes with grandchildren by Aboriginal identity and composition of the middle generation, 2011



1. Includes Aboriginal identity n.i.e. and multiple Aboriginal identities.
2. Single identity.
Source: Statistics Canada, National Household Survey, 2011.

Chart 2
Distribution of grandparents aged 45 and over in shared homes with grandchildren by immigrant status and composition of the middle generation, 2011



1. Immigrants who arrived in Canada between 2006 and 2011.
Note: Non-permanent residents not shown.
Source: Statistics Canada, National Household Survey, 2011.

for recent immigrants who came to Canada for the purpose of family reunification, their adult children and other relatives may be an important source of financial security.

In 2011, more than 8% of the immigrant population aged 45 and over lived in a home they shared with their grandchildren compared with less than 3% of their Canadian-born counterparts (Table 2). Within the immigrant population, however, there is much diversity given that some immigrants might have arrived in Canada at any time earlier in their lives—as children or as young, middle-aged or older adults—perhaps to be united with family members already in the country.

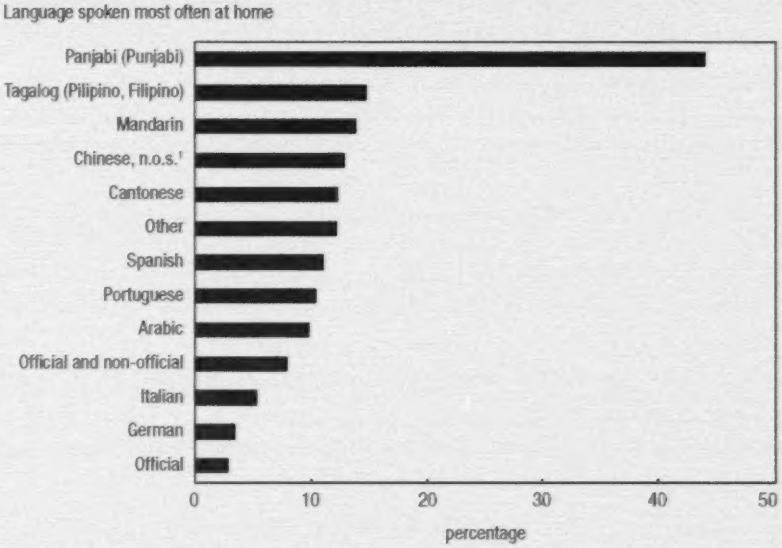
Among recent immigrants aged 45 or older who arrived in Canada between 2006 and 2011, 21% were grandparents in shared homes, as were 8% of immigrants who arrived prior to 2006. In addition, more than half (53%) of immigrants who came to Canada at age 65 or older were co-residing grandparents, compared with 4% of those who came when they were aged less than 45, thus reinforcing the importance of family networks and support among older immigrants arriving in the country.[14]

Within the population of immigrant co-residing grandparents, 95% of immigrants who arrived in Canada before 2006 lived in a multigenerational household in 2011, and it was higher (99%) among those who were recent arrivals (Chart 2). While the majority of Canadian-born co-residing grandparents also contained a middle generation, it was comparatively lower—78% in 2011—and the proportion in skip-generation families was correspondingly higher, at 22%.

More specifically, the proportion of co-residing grandparents living with a middle-generation couple was higher among immigrants (70%)—particularly recent immigrants (85%)—compared with Canadian-born grandparents (33%). In fact, the share of Canadian-born grandparents living with lone parents (43%) surpassed those living with couples (33%) and those living without a middle-generation person (22%).

Just over one-third (37%) of immigrant co-residing grandparents and 19% of those recently arrived were financial maintainers in 2011, compared with 66% among their Canadian-born counterparts. This supports previous research which found that recent immigrant parents were more likely to live as financial dependents in homes with their adult children compared with longer-term immigrants.[15] Note, however, that sponsored parents and/or grandparents may contribute to the household in a different way, for instance by providing functional or emotional support such as home care or child care, or both.[16]

Chart 3
Proportion of the population aged 45 and over who were grandparents in shared homes with grandchildren by language spoken most often at home, 2011



1. Chinese (n.o.s.) refers to persons who reported "Chinese" without further specifying in their response to the question on language spoken most often at home.
Source: Statistics Canada, National Household Survey, 2011.

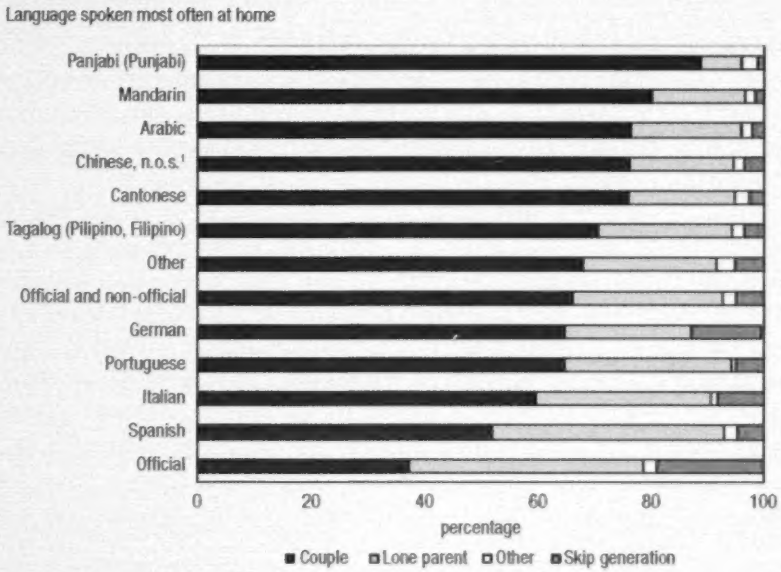
Many Punjabi-speakers are co-residing grandparents

Language spoken most often at home is also associated with being a co-residing grandparent. Grandparents aged 45 and over who lived with at least one grandchild were more than three times as likely to speak a non-official language most often at home (39%) in 2011, compared with the total population in this age group (12%). From another perspective, 14% of individuals aged 45 and over who spoke a non-official language at home lived with their grandchildren, as did 3% among those who spoke only one official language. Proportions were highest among people who most often spoke Punjabi (or Panjabi), of whom 44% of the population aged 45 and over were grandparents who lived with their grandchildren (Chart 3), followed by those who most often spoke Tagalog (15%)—also known as Pilipino or Filipino—and Mandarin (14%).[17]

The proportion of co-residing grandparents in multigenerational households was highest among those who most often spoke Punjabi, Mandarin, and Arabic (at least 98% in each case) at home (Chart 4). Punjabi-speaking co-residing grandparents had the largest share living with a middle-generation couple (89%) and an additional 7% lived with a middle-generation lone parent. In contrast, among co-residing grandparents who most often spoke an official language at home, a larger share was comprised of a middle-generation lone parent (41%) than a couple (37%)—the only language group with this pattern—and an additional 19% were in skip-generation households, the highest proportion of all language groups.

The economic circumstances of these co-residing grandparents may be reflected by patterns of who takes on financial responsibility for the household. While 25% of co-residing grandparents who spoke Punjabi most often at home were a financial provider in 2011, this was the situation for about 63% of grandparents who most often spoke an official language. This suggests that there could be cultural reasons as well as potential economic benefits to co-residence.

Chart 4
Distribution of grandparents aged 45 and over in shared homes with grandchildren by language spoken most often at home and composition of the middle generation, 2011



1. Chinese (n.o.s.) refers to persons who reported "Chinese" without further specifying in their response to the question on language spoken most often at home.
Source: Statistics Canada, National Household Survey, 2011.

Almost all co-residing Sikh and Hindu grandparents are in a multigenerational home

Religious affiliation—another indicator of the importance of cultural attributes—was also associated with being a grandparent in a shared home. The proportion of the population aged 45 and over with a Sikh religion and who were co-residing grandparents was 39% in 2011, compared with 4% among those with no religious affiliation (Chart 5). Individuals in their mid-forties and older who identified themselves as being affiliated with Traditional Aboriginal Spirituality or as Hindu also had relatively higher proportions of being grandparents in a shared home (20% and 18%, respectively). In contrast, the lowest proportions of individuals aged 45 and over who were grandparents in shared homes—even lower than those who declared no religion—were those who reported being Christian (3%) and Jewish (less than 2%).

Despite the higher proportion of co-residing grandparents with Sikh, Traditional Aboriginal Spirituality or Hindu religious affiliations, there were differences in the middle-generation composition of these groups. In 2011, nearly all Sikh and Hindu (99% of each group) grandparents in a shared home lived with a middle generation, primarily a couple (accounting for 88% and 85% of these co-residing grandparents, respectively). In contrast, 71% of those who declared Traditional Aboriginal Spirituality lived in a multigenerational household, including 15% who lived with a middle-generation couple. The remainder (29%) were in skip-generation households, more than double the national average (12%) and certainly more than those who declared Sikh or Hindu affiliations (about 1% each).

A relatively low proportion of Sikh and Hindu co-residing grandparents overall had any responsibility for household payments, at 27% and 24% in 2011, respectively, as most of these grandparents lived with a middle-generation couple, situations in which they are less likely be a financial maintainer. Conversely, among grandparents who affiliated with Traditional Aboriginal Spirituality, 74% had at least some responsibility for maintaining their household, likely reflecting the comparatively higher proportions of these grandparents in skip-generation households or households with a middle-generation lone parent.

In many ways, the results obtained by religious affiliation align with those that were obtained for other ethnocultural and diversity characteristics. A large majority of Sikh co-residing grandparents, for instance, most often spoke Punjabi at home (92%). There was also a close association between Traditional Aboriginal Spirituality and Aboriginal Identity; among co-residing grandparents who reported a religion of Traditional Aboriginal Spirituality, 99% also reported an Aboriginal identity. The implication is that the same individuals who contribute to the higher proportions observed for some religions, also contribute to higher proportions for related ethnocultural characteristics.

Similarly, visible minority status[18] was also associated with the prevalence of being a co-residing grandparent. In 2011, 12% of the visible minority

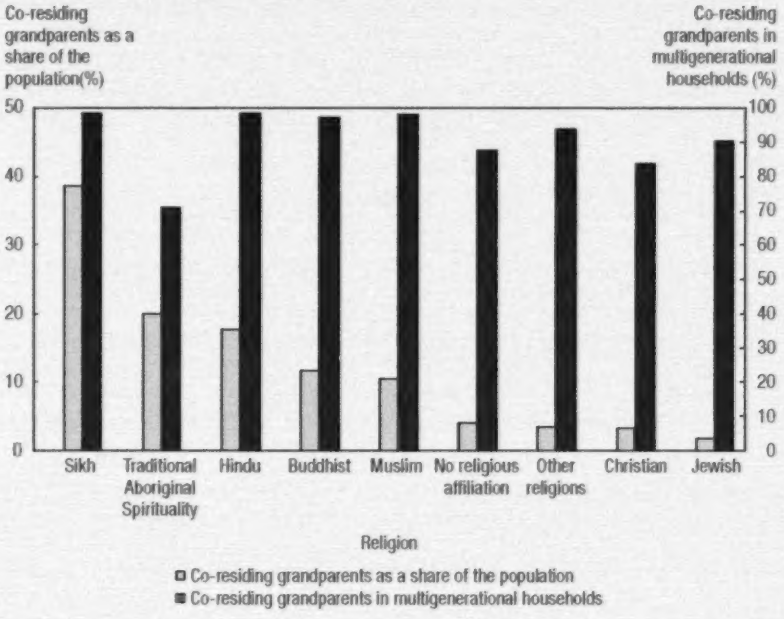
population aged 45 or over lived with their grandchildren, compared with 3% who did not belong to a visible minority group.[19] Within the visible minority population, the proportion of grandparents in their mid-forties or older in a shared home was highest among those who were South Asian (22%). The higher proportions observed for South Asians are reflective of results obtained for the Sikh—along with Punjabi-speaking—and Hindu populations.

For most visible minority co-residing grandparents, the large majority (97%) were in multigenerational households while 3% were in skip-generation households, compared with 81% and 19%, respectively, for other co-residing grandparents (Chart 6). The share of co-residing grandparents living with a middle generation was largest for South Asians (99%), West Asians and Arabs (98% each).

In contrast, among visible minority groups, the proportion in skip-generation households was highest for Blacks (12%). Recent research on multigenerational households in the United States also found a higher proportion of Blacks in skip-generation households.[20] Blacks also had the largest share of grandparents living with a middle-generation lone parent (56%).

Although a lower proportion (34%) of visible minority co-residing grandparents contributed overall to household payments compared with other co-residing grandparents (62%), among specific visible minority groups, Black grandparents were most likely to have some financial responsibility for their households (61%)—particularly when the middle generation was a lone parent (76%)—reflecting the greater need for economic support that may be faced by these lone-parent families.

Chart 5
Proportion of the population aged 45 and over who were grandparents in shared homes with grandchildren and proportion of co-residing grandparents in multigenerational households, by religion, 2011



Source: Statistics Canada, National Household Survey, 2011.

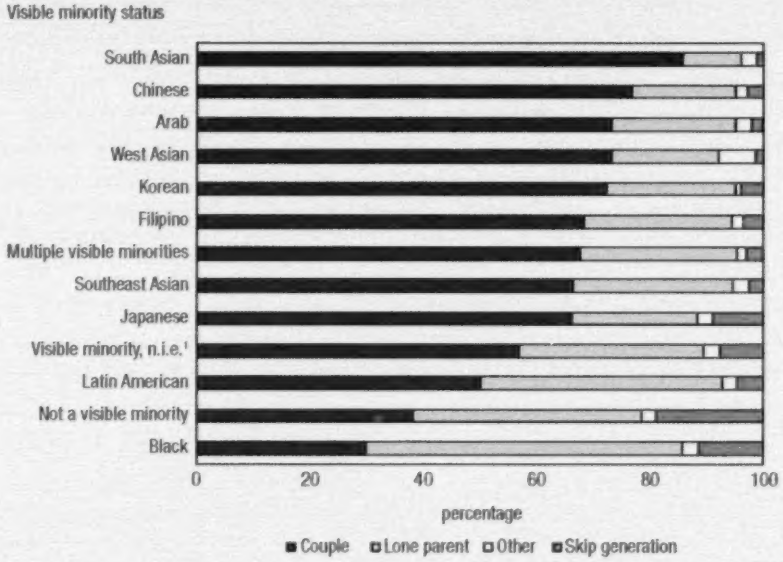
One-quarter of grandparents living with their grandchildren are widowed

Just as women aged 45 and over were more likely to be grandparents in general than men in 2011, women were also slightly more likely than men to be co-residing grandparents (5% versus 3%) and the proportion generally increased with age. Just over 8% of women and about 6% of men in their early seventies and older were in a shared home with their grandchildren (Chart 7). While living in a collective dwelling increases with age (where there is less opportunity to live with grandchildren)[21] the majority of the population remains in a private household well into their senior years.

Of all grandparents living with their grandchildren in 2011, 62% of co-residing grandparents were married or in a common-law union. Of those not in couples, 25% of co-residing grandparents were widowed, compared with 9% for the overall population aged at least 45, reflecting the older ages of these grandparents. An additional 14% of grandparents living with at least one grandchild was divorced, separated or had never been married (compared with 21% of the overall population aged 45 or older).

Other socioeconomic characteristics were related to the likelihood of living with grandchildren. Specifically,

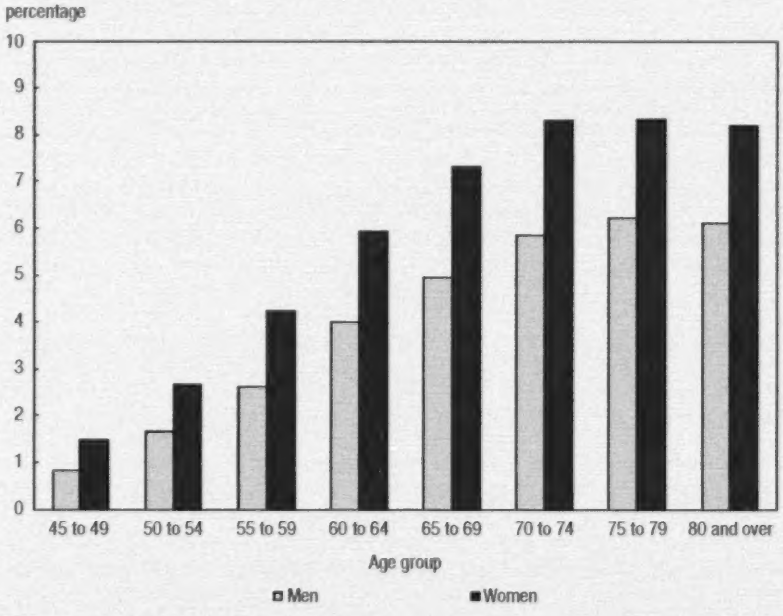
Chart 6
Distribution of grandparents aged 45 and over in shared homes with grandchildren by visible minority status and composition of the middle generation, 2011



1. The abbreviation 'n.i.e.' means 'not included elsewhere.' Includes respondents who reported a write-in response such as "Guyanese", "West Indian", "Tibetan", "Polynesian", "Pacific Islander", etc.

Source: Statistics Canada, National Household Survey, 2011.

Chart 7
Proportion of the population aged 45 and over who were grandparents in shared homes with grandchildren by sex and age group, 2011



Source: Statistics Canada, National Household Survey, 2011.

individuals aged 45 and over who had less than a high school education were more likely to be grandparents in a shared home (8%) in 2011 compared with those with a university degree (2%). This could indicate an age effect as individuals with higher levels of education may be younger and therefore less likely to be grandparents. Similarly, 6% of people who were not in the labour force (who tend to be older) were grandparents in a shared home, compared with 2% among those who were employed.

Conclusion

Grandparents and grandchildren often have a special relationship, regardless of proximity of residence. In Canada, most of the 7 million grandparents aged 45 and over live in a separate residence from their grandchildren. However, according to the 2011 NHS, 584,350 grandparents in their mid-forties or older lived with their grandchildren, accounting for approximately 4% of this age group and 8% of all grandparents. There may be a number of reasons for living in a home with grandchildren, and these may change over time, with grandparents taking on both the role of caregiver and care recipient to varying degrees. In skip-generation households, grandparents may face additional responsibilities, as they may be providing a home for grandchildren whose own parents may be unavailable or experiencing difficulties.

The most predominant characteristics among the population who co-reside with their grandchildren are either related to Aboriginal identity or are ethnocultural. Being a co-residing grandparent was more prevalent among those with an Aboriginal identity or had an affiliation with Traditional Aboriginal Spirituality;

and those who had an affiliation with Sikh or Hindu religions. The higher proportions of grandparents in Sikh or Hindu religions mirrored the higher proportion of co-residing grandparents among South Asians. Similarly, the higher proportions obtained for Sikh populations reflected the results obtained among those who mainly spoke Punjabi at home.

The majority of grandparents in a shared home also included a middle generation, which, most commonly, was comprised of a couple, followed by a lone parent, while a smaller portion was in a skip-generation household. Most grandparents contributed financially to households that were skip-generation or lone-parent middle generation, however, this was far less likely when the middle generation was a couple. The middle-generation composition also varied across diversity characteristics.

Given the growing diversity of the population in Canada, in conjunction with an aging population, there could be an even greater proportion of shared grandparent-grandchild homes in the future. The particular ethnocultural characteristics that are associated with grandparents in shared homes could have implications for how they experience their senior years—as they continue to age—as well as their corresponding care and social support networks.

Anne Milan *is a senior analyst and* ***Nadine Laflamme*** *is an analyst in the Demography Division at Statistics Canada.* ***Irene Wong*** *is an analyst in the Microdata Access Division at Statistics Canada.*

Data sources, methods and definitions

Data sources

Data used in this paper are from the 2011 General Social Survey (GSS) and the 2011 National Household Survey (NHS) and are based on a population aged 45 and over in private households. While most grandparents are seniors aged 65 and over, some individuals become grandparents at relatively younger ages. The 2011 GSS sample used in this study is based on nearly 11,700 respondents representing about 12.3 million Canadians living in the 10 provinces. Of this group, close to 7,700 respondents representing about 7 million Canadians were grandparents. The GSS data are used to provide an overview of all grandparents in Canada. GSS data were collected from February 2011 to November 2011 via telephone interviews. Respondents were selected using a random-digit-dialing sampling method.

The 2011 NHS data include the territories as well as the provinces for the population aged 45 and over. According to the NHS, there were 14.2 million people in this age group, of whom 584,350 were grandparents living with their grandchildren, referred to in this study as co-residing grandparents or grandparents in shared homes. The NHS does not collect information on all grandparents in Canada. Consequently, in order to calculate the share of co-residing grandparents, the denominator is taken as the total population aged 45 and over.

It is possible, however, to approximate co-residing grandparents as a proportion of all grandparents. About 8% of grandparents aged 45 and over in Canada live with their grandchildren, which is based on a numerator of 584,350 co-residing grandparents from NHS data and a denominator of close to 7 million grandparents from the GSS. When NHS numbers are adjusted to account for the fact that the GSS is not conducted in the Territories, the resulting number of co-residing grandparents is 581,300 (again representing 8% of all grandparents).

Since both the NHS and the GSS are based on the population in private households, they do not take the increasing proportion of seniors, particularly women, who reside in collective dwellings as they age into account.

Definitions

Co-residing grandparents: Grandparents who live in the same home as at least one grandchild. Also referred to as grandparents in shared homes.

Multigenerational household: A household containing three or more generations of grandparents, parents and children. The middle generation may be comprised of two parents who are part of a couple, a lone parent, or a more complex situation such as both a couple and a lone parent.

Skip-generation household: A household containing one or more grandparents and grandchildren, and no parents.

Grandchildren living with grandparents

From the children's perspective, of the 9.9 million people aged 0 to 24 in 2011, the majority (82%) lived with their parents—either couple parents or lone parents—and with no grandparents in their home (Table A.1). However, in total, 656,200 children aged 0 to 24 lived with their grandparents, either with or without a middle generation present, accounting for nearly 7% of the total population in this age group. Among the grandchildren who lived with their grandparents, 62% lived with two parents, 29% lived with one parent, and the remainder (9%) lived only with grandparents in a skip-generation household.

Diversity characteristics of grandchildren are generally consistent with the findings reported from the grandparent perspective. That is, compared with children who lived only with their parents, co-residing grandchildren were more likely to have an Aboriginal identity, belong to a visible minority group, speak a non-official language in the home, or be affiliated with a non-Christian religion. Specifically, among children aged 24 and under in 2011 who lived only with grandparents, 10% had an Aboriginal identity as did 6% of those who lived only with their parents. Results also showed that co-residing grandchildren with an Aboriginal identity lived more often with a lone parent and grandparents (50%) or in a skip-generation household (26%) than with couple parents and grandparents (24%).

In terms of religion, children aged 24 and under who lived with grandparents in 2011 were more likely to have a non-Christian affiliation (24%) than those who lived only with one or both parents (10%). In particular, children who lived with grandparents were 10 times more likely to be Sikh (10%) than children who lived with their parents only (1%). Higher proportions of children living with their grandparents in 2011 were South Asian (19%) compared with those who lived only with parents (5%). The tendency to co-reside with grandparents was also proportionally higher for children who were Chinese (9% compared with 4% for children who lived only with parents). While co-residing grandchildren were marginally more likely to be Black than children who lived only with their parents (5% versus 4%) in 2011, this was the only visible minority group that had a larger share of co-residing grandchildren living with lone parents and grandparents (53%) than with couple parents and grandparents (36%).

Children aged 24 and under who lived with grandparents were slightly less likely to be immigrants (8%) than those who lived only with parents (about 10%). However, children of immigrant parents or grandparents are not necessarily immigrants themselves. Hence, about 5% of first-generation children (born outside Canada) lived with their grandparents, compared with 13% of second-generation children (born in Canada with at least one parent born outside Canada). Furthermore, 8% of immigrant children who were under the age of 5 on arrival in Canada lived with their grandparents, compared with 2% among those who arrived between the ages of 15 and 24.

Table A.1
Distribution of population aged 24 and under by living arrangements, 2011

	Number	Distribution	Distribution of children in a census family	Distribution of children living with grandparents
	in thousands		percentage	
Total population aged 24 and under	**9,916.9**	**100.0**	...	...
Children in a census family	8,868.3	89.4	100.0	...
With couple parents, no grandparents	6,547.5	66.0	73.8	...
With lone parents, no grandparents	1,617.2	16.3	18.2	...
With grandparents	**656.2**	**6.6**	**7.4**	**100.0**
With couple parents and grandparents	404.0	4.1	4.6	61.6
With lone parents and grandparents	192.0	1.9	2.2	29.3
With grandparents only	60.2	0.6	0.7	9.2
In other situation[1]	47.5	0.5	0.5	...
Not children in a census family	**1,048.6**	**10.6**	...	...
Foster children	42.5	0.4	...	...
Other persons not in a census family	577.7	5.8	...	...
Other persons in a census family	428.3	4.3	...	...

... not applicable

1. This category includes children in a census family for whom it cannot be determined if there are grandparents present.

Note: Proportions may not total 100% due to rounding.

Source: Statistics Canada, National Household Survey, 2011.

Notes

1. In this section, custom tabulations made by the Social and Aboriginal Statistics Division have been used to generate the numbers from the 2001 GSS. For more information on 2001 trends, see Milan and Hamm (2003).
2. The total population living in multigenerational households increased from 930,000 in 2001 to 1.3 million in 2011, although the proportion increased slightly from just below 4% of the population to 4.5%.
3. See Kaida et al. (2009).
4. Having some responsibility for household payments (or a financial maintainer) refers to whether a person residing in the household is identified in the NHS as one of the household members who pays the rent or mortgage, taxes, electricity or other services or utilities. More than one person in the household may be identified as a financial or household maintainer. If no person in the household is identified as making such payments, the reference person is identified by default.
5. In Nunavut, for instance, about 35% of occupied dwellings were crowded in the 25 communities included in the Nunavut Housing Needs Survey. See Statistics Canada (2010).
6. The term 'Aboriginal identity' refers to whether the person reported being an Aboriginal person, that is, First Nations (North American Indian), Métis or Inuk (Inuit) and/or being a Registered or Treaty Indian (registered under the *Indian Act* of Canada), and/or being a member of a First Nation or Indian band. Aboriginal peoples of Canada are defined in the *Constitution Act*, 1982, section 35 (2) as including the Indian, Inuit and Métis peoples of Canada.
7. "The circumstances of the modern Inuit family have changed considerably from those experienced traditionally. Before living in permanent communities, Inuit lived in small, family-based groups that travelled seasonally...Today, larger communities, access to health care, formal education for children, wage employment, and many other characteristics of modern life have irreversibly affected Inuit family dynamics. However, despite these rapid changes, Inuit maintain a strong family orientation and commitment to traditional values." See Office of the Auditor General of Canada (2011), p. 5.
8. Respondents self-identified as 'First Nations (North American Indian)' on the NHS questionnaire; however, the term 'First Nations people' is used throughout this article.
9. See Office of the Auditor General of Canada (2011), p. 27.
10. See Statistics Canada (2011).
11. An immigrant is a person who is or has ever been a landed immigrant/permanent resident. This person has been granted the right to live in Canada permanently by immigration authorities. Some immigrants have resided in Canada for a number of years, while others have arrived recently. Some immigrants are Canadian citizens, while others are not. In the 2011 NHS, 'immigrants' include immigrants who landed in Canada prior to May 10, 2011. Non-permanent residents are excluded from the immigrant population. The non-immigrant population is also referred to in this analysis as the Canadian-born population although it includes a small number of people born outside of Canada.
12. See Kaida and Boyd (2011).
13. While this was true at the time of the survey collection (in 2011), the program subsequently underwent some changes. See CIC Operational Bulletin 561 titled *New Regulations for sponsors of parents and grandparents* for details.
14. See Boyd (1991).
15. See Glick and Van Hook (2002).
16. See VanderPlatt et al. (2012).
17. The proportion of co-residing grandparents among those who spoke Punjabi increased steadily with age, so that by age 75 over three-quarters of this population (78%) were grandparents living with their grandchildren. In comparison, the proportion of English or French speakers who were co-residing grandparents remained at 4% or less, regardless of age.
18. The visible minority population is defined by the *Employment Equity Act* as "persons, other than Aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour".
19. About 14% of the population aged 45 and over belonged to a visible minority group, while this was the case for 41% of grandparents living with their grandchildren. See Table A.2 for more information about how grandparents in shared homes with their grandchildren are distributed across all sociodemographic characteristics examined in this paper.
20. See Taylor et al. (2010).
21. In 2011, 8% of all seniors lived in a collective dwelling. A smaller proportion of the population aged 65 and over lived in a seniors' residence (less than 3%), most of whom lived alone (84%), or, to a lesser extent, with a married spouse or common-law partner (15%); the remaining 1% lived with others, including adult children, relatives or non-relatives.

References

Boyd, Monica. 1991. "Immigration and living arrangements: Elderly women in Canada." *International Migration Review*. Vol. 25, no. 1. p. 4–27.

Glick, Jennifer E. and Jennifer Van Hook. 2002. "Parents' coresidence with adult children: Can immigration explain racial and ethnic variation?" *Journal of Marriage and Family*. Vol. 64, no. 1. p. 240–253.

Kaida, Lisa, Melissa Moyser and Stella Y. Park. 2009. "Cultural preferences and economic constraints: The living arrangements of elderly Canadians." *Canadian Journal on Aging*. Vol. 28, no. 4. p. 303–313.

Kaida, Lisa and Monica Boyd. 2011. "Poverty variations among the elderly: The roles of income security policies and family co-residence." *Canadian Journal on Aging*. Vol. 30, no 1. p. 83–100.

Milan, Anne and Brian Hamm. 2003. "Across the generations: Grandparents and grandchildren." *Canadian Social Trends*. Winter. No. 71. Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 11–008–X.

Office of the Auditor General of Canada. 2011. *Report of the Auditor General of Canada: Children, Youth and Family Programs and Services in Nunavut*. March. Ottawa.

Statistics Canada. 2010. *An Analysis of the Housing Needs in Nunavut: Nunavut Housing Needs Survey 2009/2010*. Working paper prepared by Income Statistics Division, Statistics Canada for the Nunavut Housing Corporation. Ottawa.

Statistics Canada. 2011. *Population Projections by Aboriginal Identity in Canada, 2006 to 2031*. Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 91–552–X. Ottawa.

Taylor, Paul, Jeffrey Passel, Richard Fry, Richard Morin, Wendy Wang, Gabriel Velasco and Daniel Dockterman. 2010. *The Return of the Multi-Generational Family Household*. Pew Research Center. Washington.

VanderPlatt, Madine, Howard Ramos and Yoko Yoshida. 2012. "What do sponsored parents and grandparents contribute?" *Canadian Ethnic Studies*. Vol. 44, no. 3. p. 79–96.

Appendix

Table A.2
Distribution of the total population aged 45 and over in private households and the population who were grandparents in shared homes with grandchildren by composition of the middle generation, 2011

	Total population	Total co-residing grandparents	In a multigenerational household				In a skip-generation household
			Total	Couple	Lone parent	Other	
	percentage						
Sex	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**
Men	47.9	37.5	37.3	36.2	38.9	41.3	38.4
Women	52.1	62.5	62.7	63.8	61.1	58.7	61.6
Age group	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**
45 to 49	18.7	5.3	5.5	2.2	10.1	13.1	4.0
50 to 54	18.6	9.8	9.8	5.9	15.6	17.0	10.0
55 to 59	16.3	13.6	13.6	11.3	17.0	17.6	14.0
60 to 64	14.3	17.3	17.2	17.4	17.0	15.5	18.4
65 to 69	10.6	15.8	15.6	17.5	12.9	10.8	17.2
70 to 74	7.9	13.8	13.6	16.2	10.0	7.8	14.8
75 to 79	6.2	11.1	11.2	13.4	7.9	8.1	10.7
80 and over	7.4	13.2	13.5	16.1	9.5	10.0	11.0
Marital status	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**
In a couple	69.6	61.6	60.7	57.0	66.2	67.4	67.7
Legally married (and not separated)	61.2	58.6	58.2	56.1	61.5	60.8	60.9
Common law	8.4	3.0	2.5	0.9	4.8	6.6	6.8
Not in a couple	30.4	38.4	39.3	43.0	33.8	32.6	32.3
Never legally married	8.5	2.5	2.4	1.8	3.4	4.2	3.4
Divorced or separated	12.6	11.3	11.4	10.5	13.0	10.2	10.7
Widowed	9.3	24.5	25.4	30.7	17.3	18.2	18.3
Province/territory	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**
Newfoundland and Labrador	1.7	1.7	1.6	1.1	2.4	1.8	2.6
Prince Edward Island	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.2	0.6	0.1	0.5
Nova Scotia	3.1	2.5	2.2	1.4	3.4	2.3	4.7
New Brunswick	2.5	2.0	1.7	1.1	2.8	1.4	3.6
Quebec	24.5	11.7	11.7	10.5	13.9	11.1	11.7
Ontario	38.2	48.2	49.9	53.1	45.3	40.8	36.6
Manitoba	3.4	3.4	3.1	2.1	4.4	5.7	5.5
Saskatchewan	2.9	2.5	2.0	0.9	3.6	5.5	5.9
Alberta	9.4	9.3	8.9	8.5	9.5	11.0	11.9
British Columbia	13.8	17.9	18.1	21.0	13.4	18.2	16.1
Yukon	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.2
Northwest Territories	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.6	0.4
Nunavut	0.0	0.3	0.2	0.1	0.4	1.3	0.4
Aboriginal identity	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**
Aboriginal identity	2.7	7.1	5.9	2.3	10.8	18.6	15.6
First Nations[1]	1.5	5.3	4.4	1.6	8.0	14.9	12.0
Métis[1]	1.0	1.2	1.0	0.4	2.0	1.6	2.8
Inuit[1]	0.1	0.5	0.4	0.2	0.7	1.9	0.7
Other Aboriginal identity[2]	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.2
Non-Aboriginal identity	97.3	92.9	94.1	97.7	89.2	81.4	84.4

Table A.2 (continued)

Distribution of the total population aged 45 and over in private households and the population who were grandparents in shared homes with grandchildren by composition of the middle generation, 2011

	Total population	Total co-residing grandparents	In a multigenerational household				In a skip-generation household
			Total	Couple	Lone parent	Other	
	percentage						
Immigrant status	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**
Non-immigrants	73.4	45.4	40.6	28.0	60.6	49.9	78.8
Immigrants	26.3	53.9	58.6	71.0	39.0	49.4	20.9
Period of immigration							
between 2006 and 2011	1.5	7.5	8.5	12.2	2.9	4.1	0.7
before 2006	24.8	46.3	50.0	58.8	36.0	45.3	20.2
Age at immigration							
less than 45	22.0	22.7	23.7	23.0	24.9	22.6	15.6
45 to 54	2.5	11.2	12.5	16.2	6.4	13.8	2.4
55 to 64	1.2	12.8	14.4	20.4	5.0	9.0	1.8
65 and over	0.6	7.1	8.0	11.4	2.7	4.0	1.1
Non-permanent residents	0.3	0.7	0.8	1.0	0.4	0.7	0.3
Language spoken most often at home	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**
Official	86.7	57.6	53.4	40.9	73.6	57.2	87.3
English	64.3	49.2	45.3	34.4	62.8	51.0	76.7
French	22.2	8.3	8.0	6.4	10.7	6.0	10.2
English and French	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.4
Official and non-official	1.8	3.4	3.7	4.3	2.8	3.1	1.4
Non-official	11.5	38.9	42.8	54.8	23.5	39.7	11.3
Italian	0.9	1.1	1.2	1.3	1.1	0.5	0.7
Portuguese	0.5	1.2	1.3	1.4	1.1	0.3	0.5
German	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.0	0.2
Spanish	0.6	1.6	1.7	1.5	2.0	1.4	0.6
Mandarin	0.5	1.7	1.9	2.6	0.9	1.2	0.2
Cantonese	1.3	3.9	4.4	5.6	2.3	4.0	0.8
Chinese, n.o.s.[3]	1.0	3.0	3.3	4.4	1.7	2.2	0.9
Panjabi (Punjabi)	0.9	9.3	10.5	15.7	2.1	9.9	0.9
Tagalog (Pilipino, Filipino)	0.6	2.0	2.2	2.7	1.5	1.8	0.6
Arabic	0.4	0.9	1.0	1.3	0.5	0.6	0.1
Other	4.7	14.0	15.2	18.1	10.2	17.8	5.7
Religion	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**
Buddhist	1.2	3.3	3.6	4.4	2.5	3.4	0.7
Christian	76.1	60.3	57.6	48.6	72.4	56.6	79.0
Hindu	1.1	4.7	5.3	7.5	1.6	5.2	0.5
Jewish	1.1	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.4	0.2	0.3
Muslim	1.7	4.3	4.9	6.1	2.7	6.4	0.7
Sikh	1.0	9.1	10.3	15.3	2.2	9.3	1.0
Traditional Aboriginal Spirituality	0.1	0.5	0.4	0.2	0.8	2.3	1.3
Other religions	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.2
No religious affiliation	17.4	17.0	17.0	17.0	17.2	16.3	16.5

Table A.2 (continued)
Distribution of the total population aged 45 and over in private households and the population who were grandparents in shared homes with grandchildren by composition of the middle generation, 2011

	Total population	Total co-residing grandparents	In a multigenerational household				In a skip-generation household
			Total	Couple	Lone parent	Other	
	percentage						
Visible minority status	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**
Visible minority	13.7	41.4	45.8	57.6	26.9	42.1	10.5
South Asian	3.3	17.3	19.5	28.1	5.5	18.3	1.9
Chinese	3.7	9.2	10.2	13.4	5.3	7.6	2.1
Black	1.8	3.6	3.6	2.0	6.2	4.1	3.3
Filipino	1.3	4.0	4.4	5.2	3.2	3.5	1.1
Latin American	0.8	1.8	1.9	1.7	2.3	1.8	0.7
Arab	0.6	1.0	1.1	1.4	0.7	1.1	0.2
Southeast Asian	0.7	2.0	2.2	2.5	1.7	2.2	0.4
West Asian	0.4	0.8	0.9	1.1	0.4	2.0	0.1
Korean	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.6	0.3	0.2	0.1
Japanese	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.1
Visible minority, n.i.e.[4]	0.2	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.7	0.4
Multiple visible minorities	0.3	0.7	0.8	0.9	0.6	0.5	0.2
Not a visible minority	86.3	58.6	54.2	42.4	73.1	57.9	89.5
Some financial responsibility	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**
Yes	81.1	50.3	46.1	27.6	74.7	66.1	80.3
No	18.9	49.7	53.9	72.4	25.3	33.9	19.7

1. Single identity.
2. Includes Aboriginal identity 'not included elsewhere.' (n.i.e.) and multiple Aboriginal identities.
3. Chinese (n.o.s.) refers to persons who reported "Chinese" without further specifying in their response to the question on language spoken most often at home.
4. The abbreviation 'n.i.e.' means 'not included elsewhere.' Includes respondents who reported a write-in response such as "Guyanese", "West Indian", "Tibetan", "Polynesian", "Pacific Islander", etc.

Note: Proportions may not total 100% due to rounding.
Source: Statistics Canada, National Household Survey, 2011.